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THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF CONTINUATION SCHOOLS¹

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The wealth of a country depends not only on the natural riches of its soil, but also on the men who turn these riches to account. It has always been the aim of industrial states, or of states that desired to become industrial, to produce human material more and more fitted for their task. It was principally this object that induced absolute monarchs in Europe to establish primary schools. These schools were to contribute toward making industries, or, as they were then called, manufactures, a more productive source of state revenue.

But the farther we penetrate into the question of educating the masses to industrial capacity, the more we recognize that the problem before us is not special but general, that it is in fact nothing less than the problem of educating the whole man. Educational works in the United States are full of this discovery. In a description of the Lynn works Alexander Magnus says:

There are three main problems that enter into production: the machine problem, the material problem, the men problem. The latter is the most difficult problem, but also the most important one, in competitive activity.

In an article in the *American Federation of Labor* on industrial education I find the sentence:

There is a growing feeling that is gaining rapidly in strength, that in industrial education the human element must be recognized, and cannot be so disregarded as to make the future workers mere automatic machines.

This is perfectly true. The one-sided education of workmen to dexterity is only an apparent solution of the problem.

¹ An address given under the auspices of the Commercial Club of Chicago, November, 1910.

Of course industry requires an army of men trained to perform their special tasks as well as it is possible to perform them. But dexterity only attains its full value when it is based on insight. And one more thing is necessary. We require not only dexterity and insight but also the education of the moral character. Perhaps this development of character is the most important part even in industrial education, for firmness and principle will lead a man to acquire dexterity and insight, but dexterity and insight are not always placed in the service of character.

I do not assert that it always makes itself immediately felt, when any branch of industry neglects to train its workmen to insight and character. Many industries may profit for a longer or shorter period by their one-sided purely selfish training. But if all the industries of a state were to confine themselves to the development of dexterity, or even of dexterity and intelligence, the disadvantages of this method would soon make themselves apparent. For neither men, nor the states which they form, nor the industries which they carry on, can live an isolated life. They are all bound together by more or less common interests, linked together by a thousand chains. The individual is not only a workman in one branch or another, he is also a citizen of the state. And as a citizen his welfare and interests are inseparably connected with the welfare and interests of all other citizens. Every form of education, whatever its special aims may be, must seek to further the peaceful disentanglement of these interwoven interests—at least, that is to say, every form the realization of which requires schools supported by public money.

It might be urged—and I know that Americans favor this view—that it is not incumbent on the general community to provide more than a general education. To do this is both its right and its duty. But it has no duty and no right to use public money for purposes of specialized forms of education. This assertion cannot be justified. I have the conviction even that education for a calling offers us the very best foundation for the general education of a man. We are far too much

inclined to assume, both in the old world and in the new, that it is possible to educate a man without reference to some special calling. This assumption is erroneous. The only part of it that is true is that one calling requires more preparatory education than another, and that in our higher schools a common preparatory education can be given simultaneously for several learned and technical professions, exactly as the primary schools prepare their pupils for every kind of calling. We are also still far too much inclined to assume that early education for a calling must necessarily be a narrow and one-sided education. Yet it lies in our power to make an education for a calling as many-sided as any education can be. Well-nigh every calling, if treated with sufficient thoroughness, naturally involves an enlargement of the field of conception and activity. Science enters today into the simplest work and incites all possessed of the necessary gifts to develop their knowledge, their dexterity, and their initiative. Indeed experience has shown that the path of early education for a calling may lead to very much better results than the path of early general education with no definite calling as its goal. We might say, the useful man must be the predecessor of the ideal man. Everyone must be able to do some good and thorough work, though it be of the simplest kind, of one sort or another. Not till then will he be able not only to satisfy his fellow-men and be of use to his country, but also to make his own life of value to himself. And in the same measure as our lives gain value for ourselves do we attain power to reach a higher stage of culture.

If then the early education for a calling need by no means be one-sided or devoid of general value, if rather it is for most men, and especially for workers in industries, trades, and traffic, well-nigh the only way to reach a higher stage of culture, it cannot be regarded as a private matter; it becomes a matter of the community, a matter of the state. The reason for this does not lie in the advantages procured for any single branch of industry, but in the fact that this is the only road to civic education. Everyone who lives in a state and enjoys its pro-

tection must contribute through his work, directly or indirectly, to further the object of the state as a community for purposes of justice and civilization. Not till then is he a useful member of the state. And there can be no doubt that it is the duty of all schools supported by public means to educate useful members of the state.

Now if every individual is to contribute by means of his work to the general welfare of the community, our first business must be to provide him with the best opportunities of developing his skill and capacity for work. But the development of skill in his calling must not be placed only in the service of industry, or limited by industry. Its first object is the development of a man's own joy in work and thereby of his joy in life. For true joy in work can only grow out of real capacity for it. Thus the skill in work and the consequent joy in work that are cultivated in our trade schools prove themselves educational factors of the very highest importance. Through them we are able to appeal to the hearts of the boys and girls of our working classes. We can educate no one who is not happy in his work; and this is the point where we can intimately combine general and technical education. And there is no other way of doing this. It is possible to make use of skill in work and joy in work in an absolutely egoistic sense, and it is in this egoistic sense, unfortunately, that most technical schools approach their task. They only concern themselves with the individual, whom they endeavor to make as skilful as possible, while they pay no attention to the class as a whole. This is also the weak side of factory schools, which might otherwise be such admirable educational institutions for training intelligent and skilful workmen and artisans. It cannot be the interest of the manufacturer to give all his apprentices an equally good special and general education. He only concerns himself with the best among them, and not those with the best character but with the best intelligence and manual skill. Public schools have a very different object. They can and they must accustom the pupil betimes to use his joy in work and his skill in work in the service of his fellow-

pupils and of his fellow-men, as well as in his own. It is in their power to repress the general tendency of human nature to employ our gifts only for our own advantage. And it is their duty to repress this tendency, for if everyone were to use his gifts only for his own advantage there would be an end to all progress both for the industrial development of the nation and for the state as a whole.

Pupils who have learned in schools of this kind to place their joy in work and their skill in work at the service of their comrades will then be able to learn the lesson that every school ought to teach, of uniting readiness of service, consideration for others, and loyalty, with insight into the aims of the state community. Naturally the limits of this insight will depend on the intelligence and age of the pupils. But even when the teacher is compelled to be content with little, the public school will always have means to accustom its pupils to the habitual exercise of civic virtues.

Our present schools have not yet fully grasped the meaning of this threefold task: first, education to skill in work and joy in work; secondly, education to readiness of service, consideration for others, and loyalty to schoolfellows and to the school; and, thirdly, education to insight into the aims of the state community. Well-organized schools fulfil the first task, the development of personal capacity. It still remains to enlarge them to schools for social service, and our most important task is to provide such schools for the mass of the population, based on training for a trade.

But the schools for the vast majority of our fellow-citizens, the real schools of the people, do not even suffice to fulfil the first task, for they leave off precisely at the point at which education by means of and for a special calling begins. This is the same in the United States as in Germany. Not only the struggle for life but also the struggle for education commences for millions of our country-men at the age of fourteen. The doors of the primary school have closed for them, the doors of a higher school open only to the favored few. The competition for daily bread drives the half-grown boys and girls into

the market. They take what they find. True, the question of the children's future has peered out of the background in the mind of parents and relatives, but there has been no time to answer it. Their eyes are fixed on the necessities of the moment. Posts are valued at the salary they offer, however unfavorable the conditions may be for intellectual or moral development. Some few have the force of character to struggle through untoward circumstances. Their intelligence, their will-power, perhaps also their home training, gives them strength to overcome the forces that drag men down. Some few have the good fortune to get into a factory or shop that has a natural interest in well-trained workmen. Some few find employers who do not regard the young hand as a cheap workman but as a human being who must be educated. But the innumerable mass of weaker and less fortunate youths, of whom thousands and thousands are also valuable human material, and the innumerable mass of real capacity, that find no warm-hearted employer and no employment demanding intellect, drift like shipwrecked men on the stormy ocean. Some reach the haven, after a loss of many years; the majority lead a life never brightened by the sun of joy in work. No one has ever taught them to seek the true blessing of work. No one has ever taken the trouble to point them to anything farther ahead than the daily task by which they must earn their bread their whole lives long. People tell us industry requires thousands of hands fit to perform the same manipulation with the same unerring skill hour by hour, month by month, year by year. I fully believe that industry does require them. Division of labor is the vital element of industry. But industry is not the aim of human society. The aim of society is the increase of justice and culture. And if industry permanently continues to recklessly disregard this aim it becomes a danger, not only for the state, but also, in the end, for itself as well. A democratic or even a constitutional state that is ruled exclusively by the lust of gain, by money and the machine slaves that money buys, is doomed to inevitable ruin, as soon as the natural riches of the soil become exhausted and the population becomes too dense.

Even the industrial state cannot dispense with strong moral forces. These forces grow, but not in a people of machine slaves and money princes. Moral forces, like skill in work, grow on no other soil than that of joy in work.

Now it cannot be one of the first objects of industry to further the development of a country's moral forces. Its first object is the profitable use of economic forces. The struggle for existence compels it to strain these forces to the uttermost, to press the greatest manual and intellectual capacity into its service, and therefore to train its workmen to the highest degree of dexterity. The capital invested in it clamors with reckless insistence for its interest. No one has better represented the psychology of gain-seeking capital than the great English painter George Frederick Watts in his picture "Mammon," that hangs in the Tate Gallery in London. It is true that capital brings untold blessings to men. But it rarely unveils this second face until it has ceased to be capital hungering for increase or until it has discovered, as it must sooner or later discover, that the third factor, moral capacity, cannot be neglected with impunity. And even after this discovery it long seeks to defend its position by ever stronger accentuation of the need of pure skill, sometimes even until it is too late for its own undertakings and for the state that has left it free play.

There is no escape from this natural fate of industry but state intervention, not too long postponed, to supplement the one-sided education afforded by industry, trade, and traffic. It is in fact an entirely new duty that has arisen for the community since the economic revolutions of the last century. It arose not only in the interests of industry but in the most vital interests of the community itself. It is the imperative duty of the state to create school organizations which deal with the trade-training of boys and girls, which enter into the question with the utmost thoroughness, enlarging and deepening it, and thereby awakening in boys and girls many-sided capacity for work and a living joy in work.

It will not be the object of this new school to replace the training now given in the practical work of factory and handi-

craft. It is impossible to replace the school of life, hard and yet so efficient, quite apart from the fact that it would be a financial, economic, and social impossibility to remove all youthful workers from workshops, offices, and factories, in order to train them in special schools. It is true there are some such schools that are intended to take the place of apprenticeship. We find them in all civilized states. But they are exceptions. As exceptions they may sometimes do good work, but seldom in the sense for which they were founded. For the better such handicraft and industrial schools are organized, the more surely do they outstep their intended limits. Their pupils are no longer satisfied with the position of workmen, and even those among them whose intelligence and skill give them no claims to high posts nevertheless seek to attain them.

The schools that we are considering here are continuations of the primary schools, and they can be organized in various ways. I say, they are a continuation of the compulsory primary school, that is to say, a school compulsory without exception for all who do not go to a higher school. The continuation schools accompany boys and girls during their apprenticeship to a trade, and do not forget those who are forced to spend the spring-time of their lives as day laborers, messenger boys, and unskilled workmen, far from the paradise of joy in work. They fulfil two purposes: first, youthful workers and apprentices are still at the disposal of trade and industry; second, no citizen of the state is left without an education extending up to his eighteenth year. The completeness of the school organization depends on the means which society can provide for the purpose and on the sacrifices which commerce, trade, and industry are ready and able to make. The schools are not merely technical or trade schools. They only make use of the pupil's trade as the basis of their educational work. The trade-training which they give is not the object of the school. However thorough this training in a continuation school, for instance, in Munich, is, it is still only the starting-point for the wider general training, for the education in practical and theoretical

thinking, in consideration for others, in devotion to common interests, in social service for the state community.

We Germans call them simply continuation schools. The conviction of their necessity for the whole life of the state has taken possession of the entire population more and more during the last twenty years. In South Germany there is no city or town, however small, without one such school, at least for all boys. In North Germany the great industrial town of Essen is the only larger town in which such a school is wanting. These schools are compulsory in Bavaria, Württemberg, Sachsen, Baden, and Hessen, for both town and country population, up to the age of sixteen, seventeen, or eighteen. They are not everywhere of equal educational value. There are still many town executives that have not yet been able to relinquish the old traditions out of which the schools arose as places for repetition of elementary school work. Not all those who are called upon to give judgment in this matter are thus far penetrated by the deep conviction that they have to deal with an independent school organism, requiring exactly the same budget, the same solicitude, and the same possibilities of expansion, as the primary schools. But everywhere the organizations are progressing, everywhere the representatives of industry and trade are, with few exceptions, beginning to realize that this new form of school can prove a blessing whenever its inner organization adapts itself to the calling of the boy or girl. Everywhere have these schools become an important affair of the towns and receive the willing support of the governments. The state subsidies in Prussia, which amounted to half a million marks in 1885, had risen in 1908 to three millions. The number of schools in Prussia rose from 664, with 58,000 pupils, to 2,100 schools with 360,000 pupils. In Württemberg a law was passed in 1906 requiring every town of over five thousand inhabitants to organize continuation schools for all apprentices in commerce, industry, and trade. Bavaria is preparing a similar law to transform the compulsory Sunday school for apprentices, which has existed for the last hundred years, with two hours' instruction, into a continuation school with six hours' instruc-

tion, for many country parishes. The Bavarian towns have already established continuation schools everywhere. Many Swiss cantons, especially Zürich, have done the same, and some Austrian crownlands, especially Lower Austria with the city of Vienna, have taken up the idea of developing the continuation school in the sense above indicated. In Vienna this autumn a central building has been opened for a continuation school, with something like sixty workshops, at a cost of eight million crowns. And in 1908 a law was passed in Scotland permitting every town to establish day continuation schools for apprentices of both sexes.

We must now consider from what points of view the organization of these schools must be undertaken. The question will be answered by the actual conditions under which the pupils live. If the continuation school, which can only take the pupils under its discipline for a small part of the week, is to exercise an educational influence on them, it must seek to take hold of the pupils by their egoistic interests in life, and to ennoble these interests in the process. The egoistic interests of the pupils are contained in their daily work. The conditions under which they carry on this work are in most cases very unfavorable, especially when the pupils are workers in large industries. The best thing that the school can do here is to raise the pupils' joy in their work. By so doing it is of use not only to the pupils but also to the industry. But it can only raise the pupil's joy in work by placing the practical work of the pupil himself in the center of all school work and by teaching the pupil to execute it as thoroughly as possible, to think out the processes of the work, to give reasons for them, and to make himself master of them. Thus it must be the business of the school to group the organization of teaching round this work, which is carried on in special workshops, laboratories, and other similar places. All other teaching, commercial, scientific, artistic, and moral, is brought into intimate connection with it. This enables the school by degrees more and more to enlarge the purely technical and mechanical training for a given calling and to let it take the form of ever-widening intellectual

and moral discipline. Most industries and trades as well as commerce and agriculture allow of considerable development in these directions. The degree of general culture which the school can offer in these lines is not determined by the trade but solely by the time which the school has at its disposal and the intellectual powers of the pupils. In spite of all solicitude for the general education of its pupils, the school always remains on the firm ground of the real life by which the pupil is daily and hourly surrounded.

In all large towns and in all purely agricultural parishes it is always possible to gather most youthful workers together according to their calling in special continuation schools, in the center of which this calling stands. This kind of continuation school ought to be made compulsory for all boys and girls up to the age of seventeen or eighteen, or in any case as long as apprenticeship lasts. No reason exists why these schools should not be made compulsory. The state has established the compulsory primary school because it has recognized the necessity of a certain amount of culture for all the citizens of the state; the same recognition must lead to the compulsory continuation school. There are certain duties that every citizen must take upon himself, in the interest of the welfare of the state.

The time to be allotted to the continuation school must depend on the means at its disposal. I can imagine cases in which it might amount to two or three hours daily. In Germany it varies from six to twelve hours a week. As long as it is not reduced to less than six hours weekly, quantity is less important than quality. The evening hours must be excluded. Evening schools can only be established for voluntary pupils. Those who possess sufficient intellectual, moral, and physical strength will attend these evening classes in addition to the morning school, and not only for a time but consistently and regularly. The case is quite different for the majority of young persons, who do not possess this moral and intellectual power but nevertheless stand in need of education. For them it is of the first importance that instruction should take place during the day, within their hours of work, that the teacher may not have to

deal with a will still further weakened by fatigue. In Germany we have entirely given up holding compulsory continuation classes in the evening, when neither teacher nor pupil, especially in the winter months, is equal to his task. Most German states grant a subsidy only to towns that hold their continuation classes before seven o'clock in the evening. This is one of the cases in which sacrifices must be made by employers, by giving their apprentices the requisite time for school during the hours of work. The will to make this sacrifice was often extremely weak on the part of masters and manufacturers, but it received powerful support in the trade-regulation law of the German Empire, issued in the year 1897. According to paragraph 120 of these regulations every employer is put under the obligation to dismiss his apprentices from work at the hours appointed by the town for school purposes, under penalty of a fine. I must add that the masters and manufacturers, especially of South Germany, are almost unanimously reconciled to this order of things. Indeed some employers and guilds in Munich have offered to send me apprentices for longer instruction than the means at my disposal permitted me to provide.

The joy in work which diffuses itself throughout these schools must not be placed only in the service of intellectual and technical training, but no less in the service of moral training, or, as I call it, of civic education. For this reason the instruction must be organized as early as possible from the standpoint of free community of labor. Only in this free community of labor can the two fundamental civic virtues be developed, namely, consideration for others and loyalty to others' work. The workshops of the continuation schools, as we have them in Munich, afford every facility for carrying out this system: practical work leads in itself to the association of many hands for a common purpose, in other words, to communities of labor. But not only the practical instruction in school workshops and school gardens lends itself to this system; it can be applied with equal success to instruction in physics and chemistry, arithmetic, geometry, or gymnastics. Only at the first stage, when it is a question of initiating the pupil into the

elements of a subject, is it necessary to limit the instruction to him alone and seek to secure his individual progress. The individual must have attained a certain degree of proficiency before he can join a group for purposes of common action. That applies to the embryonic citizen as much as to the adult. But in all other respects, and in all schools, the whole plan of education must aim at turning as much school work as possible into work that can be done in common, at so arranging the tasks and the whole order of the schools that smaller or larger groups, or all the pupils together, are interested in the success of the work and are responsible for it.

There are two other factors that serve this end in the continuation schools. The first is the association of pupils in groups for free communities of labor, for purposes of self-improvement, of amusement, of physical training, or of practical charity. This is nothing new in England or America. On the contrary, we in Germany are indebted to your schools for the idea, and have much to do before we shall succeed in making it take root with us. We have nothing in our higher or lower schools to correspond to your leagues, societies, fraternities, gymnastic associations, debating clubs, clubs for musical purposes, etc. Many of these associations are admirably adapted for the continuation schools, and can be placed under the direct supervision of the pupils themselves. It is possible to introduce a regular system of self-government in other things as well into the continuation schools, if only one condition is fulfilled. The head of the school and his teachers must themselves be adept in the government of their own school and must know how to enlist the various student associations in the service of school interests.

The second factor is the co-operation of the employers in the trade taught at the school, in the common fulfilment of the school tasks. This second factor has been little realized in Germany, generally not at all. In Munich, however, I have endeavored, wherever it was feasible, to gain the interest of the employers for the school by conceding them certain rights and imposing certain duties. I will tell the manner in which

this was done in my second lecture. We must confess that the interest of employers in their apprentices' education has not increased during the last thirty years. We should gladly adopt every means in our power to awaken it afresh. The best plan is to induce the employers to make not only pecuniary but also personal sacrifices for the school, even when the school is a public one. We do not value a thing until it has cost us something. By these means we enlarge the field of education and the community of labor at the same time. We accustom a greater number of persons through the school to take not only a commercial but also a purely human interest in the apprentices and to bear their share in the cares of education. The plan has proved itself an excellent one in most cases, though not in all. The general recognition that the Munich continuation schools now enjoy on all sides is in large part to be attributed to the adoption of this plan.

When the continuation school has by these means become a true educational institution, not only for technical but also for moral education, then it will also have become a suitable medium for civic education and instruction. All teaching as to the aims and tasks of the state and the common interests of all members of the state has but little value as long as this teaching does not fall on ground already made receptive and fertile by corresponding habits of life. This applies especially to schools like the German continuation schools, with their limited hours of instruction and the quality of their pupils, who have so frequently received no good home training. The most thorough acquaintance with all the institutions of the state and all the duties and rights of the citizens does not in itself, as we know, suffice to make a citizen. A man may even be an admirable teacher of civic science and a first-class villain at the same time. We cannot develop character by teaching and precept until the organization of school and instruction has been laid out with the object of accustoming the pupil as far as possible to fair and upright dealing. As to the form that this civic teaching should take, I need say far less in your country than in Germany, where civic teaching was until quite

recently an unheard-of thing, and where people have learned by degrees that civic teaching must become one of the fundamental tasks of all public schools, as soon as the pupil is ready to receive it. A year ago I came across an excellent American book which showed me with how much common-sense and insight this subject is already treated in your schools and which in my writings and speeches I have repeatedly recommended my German countrymen to study. It is the book of Dunn's, entitled *Community and Citizen*, which appeared in the autumn of 1909. The book can be admirably applied to continuation schools, and I hope that some of my teachers in Munich will before long translate it into German, with the necessary revision of those parts that refer to exclusively American conditions. In my next lecture I propose to describe the details which show more clearly how we give civic instruction in our Munich continuation schools. The more we are able to base civic instruction on personal experience, that is, on the independent investigations and observations of the pupils, the more productive it will become.

The question remains whether the education of the masses which we call by the name of continuation school in Germany, and which we have realized in Munich and in some few country towns, is equally practicable in the United States. One great difficulty is doubtless the fact that in American trades and industries, if I am rightly informed, apprenticeship, as far as it still exists, does not begin before the age of sixteen, and that therefore so many of your boys and girls lose two of the years that would be most valuable for systematic education between the primary school and the commencement of apprenticeship. It should be the first care of educators to fill this great gap, either by prolonging the term of elementary education or by letting apprenticeship begin earlier, as it does in Germany. As a rule both boys and girls are ready to enter a calling at the close of their fourteenth year. In Germany at least we have no reason to be dissatisfied with our experience in this direction. From an educational point of view it is desirable to make fourteen the age for commencing, for there can be no doubt that working at a trade is or might be an essential factor in the formation of

character. Nothing strengthens character more than honest trade work, and I agree entirely with Mr. Hamilton, who said in his speech at Harrisburg last February:

The contribution that honest toil makes to the child-character is just as rich, possibly, as that of any other specific line of school work. Earnest, self-directed effort is the base of all habit and the very cornerstone of character. Nothing so crystallizes the crude charcoal of childhood into the diamonds of humanity as systematic self-directed effort.

What we have to beware of is that this industrial work, this "honest toil," does not degenerate into drudgery. And this danger will be avoided when a well-organized continuation school keeps pace with the period of apprenticeship, giving it meaning and thoroughness, making it many-sided, taking hold of and ennobling all its interests. Even the hardest work ceases to be a torment when we perform it with all our hearts. The introduction of industrial work or manual training into the upper classes of the primary school is without doubt a most useful undertaking in the interests of industrial education. We have long adopted this plan in Munich, although we have not carried it so far as the *écoles professionnelles* in Belgium and France. Indeed, from a social and economic standpoint it is much easier than the establishment of well-organized continuation schools. For the elementary classes do not have to struggle against the egoism of employers. But this cannot take the place of well-developed continuation schools. For the aim and end of all this training cannot be merely industrial education. Its aim and end is the education of the man, whom it will not permit to be identified with and lost in the workman. And the modern state can never hope to become a state of culture and justice till it has succeeded, by the right manner of instruction, in restoring to work, robbed of its divinity by the advance of industry, its educational powers.